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Italian Elections Reveal Problems Faced by U.S.

In striking contrast to strife and rumors of strife in China, the Near and Middle East and Latin America, the sixteen European nations which are to receive American aid under the ERP signed in Paris on April 16 an agreement establishing an Organization for European Economic Co-operation. This new organization which, according to French Minister of Economic Affairs Hervé Alphand is to continue after termination of the ERP, was described by French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault as the "first step in European unity." The OEEC is to be headed by Premier Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium, who last December declared that "the only answer to communism now is socialism—not reaction." Robert Marjolin, brilliant young French economist who has been one of the close associates of Jean Monnet, originator of the Monnet plan for the development of France's economy, is to serve as secretary-general.

It is the hope of many responsible Europeans that the OEEC, whose kernel is formed by the advanced industrial nations of Western and Northern Europe, will ultimately become the nucleus for an economic union of Europe, which would be bolstered by the military and political commitments undertaken at Brussels on March 17 by Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. Such a European union, it is believed, would provide a balance wheel between the two superpowers of the world, the United States and Russia. At the same time it is freely recognized by the Paris nations that American aid, and the prospect of United States support for a Western defensive

alliance, have greatly facilitated these first steps toward co-ordinated action.

Western Europe in Vanguard

It is not surprising that the trend toward stabilization at a point somewhat left of center has set in first of all in Western and Northern Europe, whose peoples have had a centuries-old tradition of political liberty and have developed democratic institutions which, although different in character from those of the United States, have stood the test of two world wars and a great depression. In the countries of this area both nazism and communism made some inroads in the wake of moral confusion and economic dislocation, but neither has so far succeeded in inflicting an irreparable setback on democratic forces.

No valid comparison can be drawn between the situation along the Atlantic seaboard and that prevailing in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, Asia, the Near and Middle East, or Latin America, where such experience as there has been with democratic institutions of the Western pattern is of very recent origin. In the latter areas, except for Czechoslovakia, backward economic and social conditions have fostered unrest, and there has been little middle-ground choice between native fascism or authoritarianism on the right and communism on the left. It is understandable that, with tension between the United States and Russia at a high peak, every attempt to alter existing conditions in these areas should be ascribed to Russia or communism. This was done, for example, in early reports, subsequently toned down, concerning the assassination of Lib-

eral leader Gaitán in Bogotá, and in the accusation made by King Abdullah of Transjordan on April 17 that Jewish forces in Palestine are officered by Russians—a charge categorically denied the next day by Moshe Shertok of the Jewish Agency. According to reports from American observers in these far-flung trouble-spots, the United States will not only have to be on the alert for Communist plots, but probe far deeper to discover the basic causes of current ferment.

Italy's Future Problems

This consideration is of paramount importance for the formulation of American foreign policy in general, and of Washington's attitude toward the United Nations organization in particular. The Italian elections of April 18 and 19, described by a team of CBS reporters as free and fair and as "an extraordinary demonstration of working democracy," reflected, as had been anticipated, a recession in the influence of the extreme Left—or, to be more accurate, newly positive participation in political affairs by parties of the moderate Left and Right. It would be a mistake, however, to interpret this shift in the Italian political balance of power as a triumph for the United States and the right of center parties which permits either this country or the de Gasperi government to settle down to maintenance of the *status quo*. As *Time* magazine succinctly pointed out on April 19: "A Communist defeat would not settle Italy's problems or eliminate the Communists from the Italian scene. It would merely give the West and Alcide de Gas-

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peri a reprieve, another chance to do better."

If Italy is to be stabilized internally, many reforms must be undertaken, first of all a land reform, which so far has remained largely on paper. In the absence of land reform and population control, rural overpopulation and consequent rural poverty can be alleviated only by renewal of emigration. The question arises whether the United States is prepared to lower its immigration barriers in order to foster in Italy economic and social conditions that, over the long run, would be favorable to the growth of democracy; or, alternatively, is willing to finance Italian immigration to other regions of the world.

UN Future at Stake

At Flushing Meadow, too, the United States faces decisions which will test in the days immediately ahead this country's announced determination to base its foreign policy on the UN. Washington's decision to abandon its previous support of the proposal for partition of Palestine into independent Arab and Jewish states has strengthened the determination of the Arab nations to accept no substitute plan except one providing for the establishment of a unitary Palestinian state where the

Arabs would occupy a dominating position and the Jews would remain a minority. In the second special session of the General Assembly on Palestine which opened at Flushing Meadow on April 16, the Arabs states joined forces with most of the Latin American countries and all the non-Arab Moslem states—a possible combination foreseen at San Francisco which gives this group of nations a majority. In this case the United States and Britain voted with the Arab-Latin American coalition. An immediate result of this coalition was the election of Dr. José Arce of Argentina as president of the Assembly, and of Dr. T. F. Tsiang of China as chairman of the Political Committee. Since both men are known to oppose partition, this development has stultified the effort of UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie, at one time reportedly backed by the United States, to divide the two key posts between propartition and antipartition forces. At present the United States finds itself in the position of being aligned with some of the least politically advanced nations in the UN, many of which could no more be described as democratic in the American sense than Russia and its neighbors.

The trend of events in the UN raises

the question whether mere elimination of Russia and its neighbors of Eastern Europe and the Balkans—a possibility contemplated under the bipartisan resolution for reform of the UN introduced on April 12 by a group of Senators headed by Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican, of Michigan—would produce the object it seeks to achieve. Its object, presumably, is an effective international organization that would defend the ideals supported by the United States, by peaceful means if possible, through mutual defense measures if necessary. The spotlight long focused on the Security Council and Russia's overuse of the veto in that body has tended to distract attention from the influence that can be exerted on world affairs by members of the General Assembly, whose position the United States is seeking to strengthen. The problem of the veto does not arise in the Assembly—but there the votes of nations some of which have no actual power either to preserve peace or to defend themselves in case of war might easily embroil the United States in conflicts over which, under existing circumstances, it would have no control.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

(The second of two articles on changing aspects of American foreign policy.)

Disagreement Among Military Creates Confusion

WASHINGTON—Whatever disposition Congress makes of the Administration's request for enactment of a universal military training law, a draft law, and a modest increase in the authorized strength of the army, navy, and air force, President Truman and his cabinet will be left with the problem of undertaking a systematic study of the country's military needs. Thus far military power has been developed in piecemeal fashion.

The Administration acted hastily in preparing the program which it presented to Congress on March 17, and statements by Secretary of Air W. Stuart Symington and General Omar Bradley, army chief of staff, have revealed that Administration officials themselves disagree about the soundness of that program. The Administration, moreover, has left Congress uncertain whether the proposed program will enable the United States to achieve the political purpose for which Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal and Mr. Truman designed it—namely to dissuade the Soviet Union from extending its influence westward across Europe. The pend-

ing program aims primarily at improving the defenses of continental America and approaches to it. If it is fair to suspect, as the Administration does, that Russia still harbors expansionist ambitions, the question arises whether it is wiser to arm the United States or to arm the nations of Western Europe.

Congressional Delay

The Administration's ambiguity in setting forth its military policy accounts in part for the delay of Congress in turning the program into law. President Truman outlined the program in his address to Congress on March 17, and Secretary Forrestal added details on March 25. The Senate Armed Services Committee concluded hearings on April 3, but inability to agree whether the institution of a permanent program of military training is desirable caused its members to postpone their decision on the President's request until late in April. The open dissatisfaction of Secretary Forrestal's subordinates with the program he made public created further confusion in Congress. Whereas Mr. For-

restal proposed an increase in the authorized strength of the ground forces from 542,000 to 782,000, General Bradley on April 14 asked the House Armed Services Committee to authorize an army of 822,000. Mr. Forrestal proposed an air force of 55 groups, and Secretary Symington countered with a request for 70 groups.

The dispute over air power has disclosed that the 1947 law unifying the armed services is inadequate. The heads of the three services obviously retain their preunification freedom to try to make policy satisfy their own ideas of the nation's needs. The request for a large air force has a twofold appeal to Congress—as a substitute for military training, and as the first line of defense in an age of aviation. The House, accordingly, on April 15 passed 343 to 3 a bill permitting establishment of a 70-group air force. Mr. Forrestal has argued that such a change would necessitate a proportionate increase in the sizes of the other services, and thereby raise the military expenditures for 1949 by perhaps \$15 billion above their

present \$11 billion, instead of by the \$3 billion specified in the Forrestal-Truman plan. Mr. Truman publicly supported Mr. Forrestal's objections, but the Air Policy Commission appointed by the President himself recommended on January 13 an increase to 70 groups as the minimum establishment capable of defending the continental United States in case of attack. The President has ordered no study of over-all military policy similar to this inquiry into air policy.

Foreign and Military Policy

The debate in Congress since March 17 has disclosed also that the machinery

created through the unification act for integration of military and foreign policy does not yet function acceptably—although it does enable the military establishment to guide foreign policy.

Meanwhile, Prime Minister Spaak of Belgium during his recent visit to Washington with the Belgian Regent, Prince Charles, suggested that it might be wise to send to Congress an ancillary request for authority to provide weapons for Belgium and other signatories of the Brussels fifty-year defensive alliance. As a result of concentrating its attention on one facet of a problem at a time, however, the Administration now faces the dilemma that

an adequate increase in military material for both the United States and our potential allies in Europe may endanger fulfillment of the European Recovery Program. The administrators of military policy and of foreign economic policy will compete with each other for the procurement of many commodities required by both groups. A comprehensive statement of what sort of military support our foreign policy requires would be enlightening for Congress and helpful to the Administration in the realization of its goals abroad.

BLAIR BOLLES

FPA Bookshelf

Russia's Europe, by Hal Lehrman. New York, Appleton, 1948. \$3.75

A grim and disillusioned picture of Russia's activities in Eastern Europe and the Balkans since the war, by an American correspondent whose book is somewhat marred by hasty writing and personal judgments not always supported by background information.

The Silent People Speak, by Robert St. John. New York, Doubleday, 1948. \$4.00

Mr. St. John, well known both as a newspaper correspondent and radio commentator, covers a good deal of the same territory as Mr. Lehrman, but comes to quite different conclusions in a readable but superficial book which highlights post-war developments in Yugoslavia.

How to Stop the Russians—Without War, by Fritz Sternberg. New York, John Day, 1948. \$2.00

In this slim volume the author contends that a "preventive" war waged by the United States against Russia would only result in world barbarism, and that Americans can stop the Russians by being more progressive than Russia in Europe and Asia.

Soviet Russia: the Land and Its Peoples, by Nicholas Mikhailov. New York, Sheridan, 1948. \$3.50

A useful survey of the geography, population and resources of the U.S.S.R. by a Soviet geographer.

Voting Procedures in International Political Organizations, by Wellington Koo, Jr. New York, Columbia University Press, 1947. \$4.00

Designed for the United Nations, and rendered particularly useful because of information on the "veto" drawn from the records of the San Francisco conference.

The New Economics: Keynes' Influence on Theory and Public Policy, edited with introduction by Seymour E. Harris. New York, Knopf, 1947. \$6.00

An important contribution to the growing literature on the economic writings of the late Lord Keynes. "Keynesiana," the editor points out, "may well ultimately account for more printed words than Marx."

A Modern Law of Nations, by Philip C. Jessup. New York, Macmillan, 1948. \$4.00

In this pioneer study Professor Jessup sets forth the principles of growth needed for an adequate international law in the future, which he believes must apply directly to the individual as well as to states.

Economic Report: Salient Features of the World Economic Situation, 1945-47. Lake Success, UN Department of Economic Affairs, January 1948. \$2.50

Prepared by the UN Economic Secretariat, this volume is the first in a planned series of annual reports on world economic conditions. The present study contains comprehensive data on the post-war economy, with particular attention to the devastated and underdeveloped areas.

The Philippine Story, by David Bernstein. New York, Farrar, Strauss, 1947. \$3.75

A useful brief history of the Philippines by an American who worked with Presidents Quezon and Osmena. While praising many aspects of the American record in the islands, the author holds that "we have not fulfilled our responsibility." He is particularly critical of certain features of the Philippine Trade Act of 1946 and of our attitude toward leading Filipino collaborators with the Japanese.

Berlin Reparations Assignment: Round One of the German Peace Settlement, by B. U. Ratchford and Wm. D. Ross. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1947. \$3.50

A personal account by two American economists of their part in drafting the Level of Industry Plan for Germany. Many revealing comments are made concerning the development of the Administration's policy in respect to reparations.

Civilization on Trial, by Arnold J. Toynbee. New York, Oxford University, 1948. \$3.50

The author of the monumental *Study of History* has drawn together in this book thirteen essays written over the past two decades. They provide a key not only to Toynbee the man and his historical method, but cover such interesting subjects as "Islam, the West, and the Future" and "Russia's Byzantine Heritage." For American readers the chapter on "The International Outlook" is also most thought provoking.

A Foreign Policy for the United States, Quincy Wright, ed. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1947. \$4.50

Harris Foundation Lectures by a group of experts in their fields who clarify their opinions in discussions with other experts.

The Economic Reports of the President. New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1948. \$2.50

These reports, which contain a wealth of information on the state of the national economy, were prepared with the assistance of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, in accordance with the provisions of the Employment Act of 1946.

Bridges Over the Rhine, by Ernst Erich Noth. New York, Holt, 1947. \$3.00

The author contends that peace for Germany is possible only if there is first a real understanding between the United States and the Soviet Union. To offset the recovery of Germany, France must be strengthened.

Henry Wallace, The Man and the Myth, by Dwight MacDonald. New York, Vanguard, 1948. \$2.50

A revealing and critical review of Wallace's views on domestic and foreign issues, by the editor and publisher of *Politics*.

Communism and the Conscience of the West, by Fulton J. Sheen. New York, Bobbs-Merrill, 1948. \$2.80

Monsignor Sheen sees communism as an ideology having many characteristics of religion, with God, and man as an individual, excluded. To him it presents essentially a religious problem.

From Fiji through the Philippines with the Thirtieth Air Force, by Lt. Col. Benjamin E. Lippincott. New York, Macmillan, 1948. \$10.00

The story of a relatively small but heroic group. The illustrations by Staff Sgt. R. A. Laessig add immeasurably to the text.

American Foreign Service, by J. Rives Childs. New York, Holt, 1948. \$4.00

This is the only book on the subject since 1926. The author is a distinguished career diplomat in the best sense of the word. Contains the Foreign Service Act, also a resumé of the British and French Foreign Services.

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• FPA NEWS •

News in the Making

Program Notes

The Shreveport FPA is expanding its services to the community. The Board of Directors there has voted to defray the expenses of a series of weekly public meetings on U.S. foreign policy being held every Monday evening in April and May at the Centenary College Student Center. . . .

The citation, accompanying the *Variety* Show-Management award to "World Affairs Are Your Affairs" radio program, specifically stated this "series of programs, designed to show the relationship between the world problems and the operation of the average American household, was outstanding radio, tapping the intellectual resources of the community." We all have these intellectual resources. The question is do we use them? From time to time successful meetings are built on the experiences and talents of fellow townsmen. Perhaps this is the time to report that before the war the Springfield, Massachusetts FPA regularly opened its season with a meeting entitled "The Return of the Natives." At these meetings first-hand reports were made by several leaders of the community who had spent the summer in Asia, Europe, South America or Australia. It will soon be time to tie up your prospective summer travelers for such programs.

College Forum

Vera Micheles Dean, Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, will participate in the fifth annual College Forum sponsored by *Mademoiselle* magazine to be held at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on Saturday, April 24.

The theme of the program is "European Recovery and the United States." Marshall MacDuffie, former director of the European Bureau of Foreign Economic Administration, will act as chairman. Other speakers will be Lewis C. Frank, Jr., of the *New Republic*; Ferdinand Kuhn, Jr., of the *Washington Post*; and James P. Warburg, author of *Foreign Policy Begins at Home*.

Association Meetings

ELMIRA, April 29, *U.S. Policy in China*, James R. Young, John Goette

DETROIT, April 30, *The Americas from the Hudson to Tierra del Fuego*

TULSA, May 3, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

ALBANY, May 4, *The Outlook for Peace*, Round-table discussion by FPA members

OKLAHOMA CITY, May 4, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

SPRINGFIELD, May 6, *The Far East in Ferment*, Lawrence K. Rosinger

SHREVEPORT, May 7, *Rumania Speaks from Behind the Iron Curtain*, Constantin Visoianu, Alexandre Cretzianu, Hal Lehrman

National Conference

On April 9, 10, and 11 the First National Conference of the Regional Officers of International Relations Clubs was held in St. Louis, Missouri. Alger Hiss, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, addressed the opening dinner meeting on "The Trend in World Affairs." At the luncheon meeting on the 10th, John Scott, head of the Berlin Bureau of *Time* magazine, spoke on "An Audit of World Opinion." The conference heard Professor Philip C. Jessup, United States representative on the Interim Committee of the United Nations, at the Saturday evening banquet. At the final luncheon on April 11 Floyd Sampson, UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, discussed "UNESCO and the United States National Commission."

During the three-day conference, Howard E. Wilson of the Carnegie Endowment, and Wendell Lewis, Fellow of the Carnegie Endowment, directed discussion on local and regional problems and possibilities of International Relations Clubs. They considered in detail a proposal to form a national organization. William Holbrook, University of Alabama, was elected president of the conference and

The government of India's ten-year industrial policy was approved by the Indian Parliament on April 7. Foreign capital will be welcomed in India, and industries already established will, for the most part, remain in private hands. The state, however, intends to play an active role in the establishment and ownership of new industries. . . . Coal production in Britain continues to rise. Coal exported from Britain so far this winter—not including coal for bunker depots abroad and foreign bunkers—totals one million tons, more than double the amount sent abroad in 1947. . . . The House Ways and Means Committee is expected to begin hearings soon on *renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act*, which expires June 10. Present indications are that the American export industries which expanded particularly during and since the war—machinery, automobiles, radio, etc.—will this time take a far more vigorous stand than previously in favor of continued reduction of our import duties. . . . A new treaty signed by Britain and Transjordan on March 15 provides for joint defense and for the maintenance of RAF units at Amman and Mafrak airfields.

presided at all of the conference sessions. Robert Cunningham, University of Michigan, was elected vice president, and William Hamm, University of Alabama, secretary.

FPA Idea Goes Abroad

From the U.S. zone of Germany comes a request for information on the FPA—how it was created and how it grew. There appears to be an increasing world-wide interest in international affairs accompanied by an insistent demand for citizen participation. This inquiry from Germany is the latest of a fairly long list. England and the Dominions have long had Institutes of International Affairs which hold meetings for their members, conduct study groups, and issue various publications. In India and China such groups have recently been formed. Panama and Argentina are preparing the ground for similar organizations.

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